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PRECEPT AND PRACTICE: HOW THEY DIFFER.

"Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened." "A jealous care of the right of election by the people." "The arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public opinion."—JEFFERSON.

Let us test the present administration of public affairs by these time-honored maxims of Jefferson.

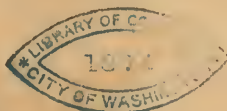
Frauds and corruptions of the deepest die were proved against the present Administration, by the reports of committees of Congress, at the session before the last. We deem it now a patriotic duty to show the people of Virginia that the same administration has been since, and is now, going on in the same course from bad to worse; and more, that in the canvass for the Presidency now in progress, it seeks to continue the reign of corruption in the same hands. Breckinridge and Lane are Buchanan's candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. He harangues in their favor from the steps of the White House. His Secretary of the Treasury (Cobb) has taken the stump for them personally, and it is said others of the Administration will soon follow his example. All his office-holders are required and pledged to support them. The President's organ at Washington, and all his affiliated press throughout the country are doing the same thing. Never, in short, was so open and unblushing an attempt made by any President to elect his successor, and to perpetuate power in the corrupt party which now afflicts and disgraces the country.

BUCHANAN'S PROFESSIONS BEFORE HE WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT.

WHEATLAND, February 23, 1852.

"Gentlemen: * * * * On what issue, then, can we go before the country and confidently calculate upon the support of

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the American people at the approaching Presidential election? I answer unhesitatingly that we must fall back, as you suggest, upon * * * * * a rigid economy in public expenditures.

"These expenditures have now reached the *enormous sum of FIFTY MILLIONS of dollars per annum*, and, unless arrested in their advance by the strong arm of the Democracy of the country, may, in the course of a few years, REACH ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS. The appropriation of money to accomplish great national objects sanctioned by the Constitution, ought to be on a scale commensurate with our power and resources as a nation; but its expenditures ought to be conducted under the guidance of enlightened economy and strict responsibility. *I am convinced that our expenses ought to be considerably reduced below the present standard*, not only without detriment, but with positive advantage both to the government and the people.

* * * * *

JAMES BUCHANAN."

Mr. Buchanan has lived to be President, and has lived to fulfil his own prophecy.

That the people may see with what rapid strides the expenditures have approximated the *enormous sum of one hundred millions per annum* under his administration, we append the amounts for the last years of the two preceding terms, and the first two of his:

1852—Fillmore.....	\$36,552,080	37
1856—Pierce	60,172,401	64
1857—Buchanan.....	64,778,828	85
1858—Buchanan.....	83,856,727	00

For the two fiscal years since 1858, we have no reliable data upon which to estimate the expenditures. The statements from the Treasury seem intended to obscure and mystify, rather than explain the truth. But these general facts are conceded and undeniable—that with the immense revenues at the command of the Government, a national debt has been created; that the public service has languished and suffered in so much, that one Department of it (the Post Office) broke down, until Congress came to its relief—and that twenty millions yearly of deficiency in the revenue has only been covered by the issue and re-issue of Treasury Notes.

OPINIONS OF BUCHANAN'S OWN SUPPORTERS, AS TO HIS ADMINISTRATION.

In a speech in the House of Representatives, Hon. A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, said:

"When he first entered Congress in 1843, the expenses of the Government were only \$30,000,000 per annum. The country had gone through the expensive Mexican war, *with sixty-three thousand soldiers in the field*, for thirty-three millions, and now, *in time of peace*, the estimates were seventy-three millions. Many expenditures were wholly unnecessary, and reform was indispensably needed. *He believed forty millions an abundance for the national expense.*"

Hon. Andrew Johnson, Senator from Tennessee—also good Democratic authority—referring to the same subject, said in a recent speech in the Senate:

"It is in the power of Congress to prevent *these enormous expenditures*; and if we do not interpose, we are responsible for them. This Government, sixty-nine years of age, scarcely out of its swaddling-clothes, is making *more corrupt uses of money* in proportion to the amount collected from the people, as I honestly believe, than *any other government now on the habitable globe.*"

Gen. Shields, one of the Democratic Senators from Minnesota, in the course of a debate in the Senate, also took occasion to say:

"I think it is not saying to much to declare that this country has gone faster and further, in *ten years*, in extravagance, than most other countries have done *in centuries.*"

The Hon. M. R. H. Garnett, of Virginia, in a recent speech, said:

"Can any gentleman pretend that it is fair, that it is just, that it is legitimate, that the expenses of this Government, in time of profound peace, *should have doubled in six years?* Look through the list of items, and you will find that the expenditures have doubled in almost every item. Is there no place to apply the knife? The Committee of Ways and Means tells you, that they *cannot control these expenditures*; then I say that the only way to control them is the same way that you would control any other extravagant person; that is, by stinting them in money."

And all this under Democratic rule; a Democratic President; a Democratic Cabinet; a Democratic Congress, and Democratic officials in all the administrative departments.

From the Washington *States* of March 7th, 1859, edited by Roger A. Pryor, then in the interests of Douglas, but now a member of Congress, and a flaming Breckinridge and Lane stumper, and, of course, a supporter of this present administration, we make the following extracts about that great subject of public plunder—the Public Printing:

“THE PUBLIC PRINTING PLUNDERERS.—The fact that for the last five years the American people have been subjected to an annual exaction of nearly a million of dollars, on account of the Public Printing, is a circumstance which will not escape comment, *even in this age* of corrupt and extravagant expenditure.

“It is a striking instance of the perversion of Federal authority, that in addition to its many other illegitimate occupations, the central Government has engaged so largely in the incompatible business of a publishing concern.

“It is a signal attestation of the decay of official virtue, that the appropriations for this unwarrantable purpose have been *squandered in bribes and bounties* to the very officials who were appointed to protect the public interests.

“It is a deplorable mark of the progressive deterioration of political morals, that *the exposure of peculation of the most atrocious character* rarely provokes more than a gentle expostulation from the men in authority.

* * * * *

“With the view of inviting public attention to the abuses which abound *in almost every branch of Federal Administration*, we reproduced, a few days ago, the report wherein a committee of the House exhibited the fraudulent practices of the Printing Department. It is a document of the very gravest interest.

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“A certain A. G. Seaman was Superintendent of Public Printing from December, 1853, to December, 1857. During a part of the same period a certain Cornelius Wendell held the

office of Public Printer. A more congenial couple never existed, even in fiction.

* * * * *

“Notwithstanding the cleverness of these two consummate rascals, and their studious endeavor to ‘cover up their tracks,’ *the committee convict them of receiving bribes and bounties*—the former to the amount of \$39,000, and the latter to the amount of \$30,000. Of course, these figures do not represent the full extent of Seaman and Wendell’s operations. In the main, their practices were such as to elude detection; and whenever they ventured into the light, they were careful to assume an almost impenetrable disguise. Still, enough is ascertained to show that both Seaman and Wendell *have plundered the treasury upon system*, and have incurred exposure to the penalty of imprisonment in the Penitentiary.

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“In the examination of the accounts for engraving and lithographing, the committee find that the books of various parties did not correspond with the certificates issued.

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“In one case the difference was equivalent to \$10,000, and in another to \$6,736 76.

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“By an arrangement with Seaman, Wendell, the Public Printer, was employed as the special agent for all the paper contractors—he being the very person who should complain of an inferior article. In this way, the editor of the ‘organ’ realized the snug sum of \$12,000.

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“The testimony shows that large quantities of paper, inferior to the samples by at least a difference of thirty-three per cent., were accepted from favored contractors; that thousands of documents were receipted for as printed and bound that were never delivered; that thousands of voluminous documents were paid for as printed which were not printed; and that thousands of the most valuable publications have disappeared without any account.

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“These are astounding developments; *but they are of a piece with the prevalent practices in the federal capital.* FROM THE

BY-WAYS AND HIGH-WAYS OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE ROTTENNESS OF CORRUPTION SENDS FORTH AN INSUFFERABLE STENCH. *Why are the people so patient? Why slumbers the indignation of the Democracy?* See they nothing discreditable in the fact that the '*organ*' of the *Administration* is under the ostensible control of a *detected swindler*? Have they no word of surprise when they discover that the *President retains* Cornelius Wendell as *his confidential 'organ,'* after the public and official exposure of Cornelius Wendell's corrupt practices as a functionary of government? *Cornelius Wendell is still Public Printer, not in name but in fact;* is there no popular protest against the connivance of Congress in his employment *since the discovery of his frauds and peculations?* Others may be indifferent to such an ignominy; but, for ourselves, we intend to lash the malefactor till the party is purged of his infectious presence, and the treasury is protected against his piratical operations."

These statements of Mr. Pryor are fully sustained by the formal report of a committee of Congress, "to investigate the accounts of the Superintendent of Public Printing," laid on the table, February 28th, 1859, and ordered to be printed. The conclusions and recommendations of the committee are thus stated:

"Independent of any criminal interest, this conduct, and the relations thus established, were undoubtedly wrong. Mr. Seaman was the officer of the government, whose duty it was to inspect, and if necessary, reject the paper furnished, while Mr. Wendell was the Public Printer, who used the paper, who knew the quality of the article, and who was the only person likely to complain of its quality. The Superintendent was a large and constant borrower from the contractors, and thus far lost his independence; while the Public Printer became the hired agent of the contractors, and positively interested in the receipt of their paper, no matter how indifferent its quality.

"Your committee find that Mr. Seaman received from the engravers, lithographers, and paper contractors examined during the investigation, in the way of loans, chiefly, but a portion in money direct, about the gross sum of \$30,000.

"Your committee find, as heretofore stated, that Mr. Wendell

received from the paper contractors about \$12,000. The evidence shows that he also received from engravers and lithographers, during Mr. Seaman's superintendency, about \$27,000; making the gross sum paid to him, as far as ascertained, about \$39,000.

"In addition to these sums, there are two payments unexplained, the sum of \$4,391 92; the one cent a pound which was contracted to be paid, and was paid to some one, or arranged in some way; and the sum of \$1,201, which was deducted from the accounts of Messrs. Rice, Kendall & Co., by Mr. Megargee.

"From the facts found, your committee feel constrained to submit the following resolutions for the consideration of the House:

"*Resolved*, That A. G. Seaman, late Superintendent of Public Printing, has been guilty of improper and illegal practices in the discharge of his official duty, and in violation of the provisions of the act approved the 26th day of August, 1852, creating the office of Superintendent, and defining the duties thereof.

"*Resolved*, That the testimony in this case be certified by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and *sent to the District Attorney for the District of Columbia.*"

Yet who has heard of the conviction, or trial, of these minions of Executive corruption? and why are they not expiating their crimes in the Penitentiary?

A few days before the adjournment of the same Congress, the following debate took place in the Senate, which is copied from its proceedings:

"Mr. Wilson amended by cutting down most of the miscellaneous items, as advertising, mail bags, wrapping paper, and post office blanks, making a total saving of over \$80,000. In reference to the blanks, he said he knew a case where Mr. Rice, editor of the *Pennsylvanian*, had a contract for printing blanks for \$40,000, which cost him just \$5,000, the profit being divided, fifty per cent. to the *Washington Union*, five per cent. to Mr. Appleton, Secretary of State, and three per cent. to a paper published in the interest of a member of Congress.

"Mr. Mason said if the facts were so, it is due to the Senate

and to the country for the Senator to lay his information before them.

“Mr. Wilson reiterated the statement, and said that Mr. Rice himself had said so, and, moreover, that *the arrangement was with the cognizance of the President of the United States.*

“Mr. Cameron said the matter was so notorious that everybody, except, perhaps, the Senator from Virginia, must know all about it. Mr. Rice was, until recently, a creature of the President, but they had a quarrel, and he went about blabbling all about it.

“Mr. Mason—Did Mr. Rice tell the Senator so?

“Mr. Cameron—The way to get this information is to appoint a committee of investigation, or sue me for slander, and that will bring the evidence. *I am responsible for all I say, here or elsewhere.* Just bring here Billy Rice and the President. *They* know all about it, and I think *my colleague* knows something about it too.”

Neither BILLY RICE nor the President, has been brought before a committee, nor has any slander suit been brought against Cameron, so it has not been distinctly ascertained how the profits of the job were divided between Rice and the Secretary of State, but the main fact of the contract with Rice and the President's complicity in the affair, are made apparent by the reports at the last session of Congress, of the committees of Investigation into Executive abuses. The general fact is thereby clearly established that enormous profits, far exceeding the value of any public service rendered, were made by political pets and tools of the Administration, with its knowledge and connivance to be expended, and actually expended, in carrying favorite measures through Congress—in corrupting the ballot-box, and carrying popular elections to suit the President. Before, however, proceeding to these interesting developments, let us take advantage of the President's own opinions of such doings as they now convict him of. In his celebrated *Du Quesne* letter, written on the 22d of November, 1858, he thus expressed himself.

“I shall assume the privilege of advancing years, in referring to another growing and dangerous evil. In the last age, although our fathers, like ourselves, were divided into political

parties, which often had severe conflicts with each other, yet *we never heard until a recent period of the employment of money to carry elections*. Should this practice increase until the voters, and their representatives in the State and National legislatures shall become infected, the fountain of free Government will then be poisoned at its source, and we must end, as history proves in a military despotism; a Democratic republic, all agree, cannot long survive unless sustained by public virtue. When this is corrupted, and the people become venal, there is a canker at the root of the tree of liberty, which must cause it to wither and die."

Will it be believed that but a few weeks before this letter was written, large sums out of the profits of the public printing were used, with the author's implied consent, for the purpose of controlling the Congressional elections in Pennsylvania and New York, and that under his express direction, the same means were systematically used to subsidize the press? What the rate of profit was, may be judged by the fact that, as appears by the report of the committee of the House of Representatives, on Public Expenditures, [Report No. 249, March 26, 1860,]—the cost of the Public Printing for the thirty-third Congress, was \$1,780,259 79—for the thirty-fourth Congress, \$1,108,139, and for the thirty-fifth Congress, \$574,236 33; making an aggregate of \$3,462,655 12, exclusive of the printing for the Executive Departments. From the evidence adduced before them, say the committee, "they are clearly of opinion that the prices now paid on the press-work should be reduced in the aggregate at least *sixty-five per cent.*" What a margin of profits is thus shown, to be applied to the purposes of corruption! Cornelius Wendell, editor and proprietor of the Washington organ of the President, seems to have been his favorite instrument in these practices. The "*Union*" was the President's Washington organ. "*The Pennsylvanian*," edited by Rice, was his home organ, and "*The Argus*," edited by Seaverns, and then by Baker, who married the President's niece, and who figures hereafter, was of the same kidney. The Executive Printing, of which the Post Office Blanks are a profitable part, is under the control of the Administration. "Question by the committee to Wendell. From

1856, who exercised control over the giving out of the Post Office Blanks printing?" "Answer. The President and Post-master General, through the Post-master General; in December succeeding Mr. Buchanan's coming into power, he gave it to Mr. Rice, for a time." "Question. Did you sub-contract it from Mr. Rice?" "Answer. Yes, sir, that was the understanding that *I should continue to do the work as heretofore, and have the control of it, Rice receiving, I think, forty-three cents in the dollar.*" "Question. Was there any understanding when this work was given to Rice, that any newspaper was to be supported out of it?" "Answer. It was understood that it was for the support of *the Pennsylvanian*; such was the understanding." "Question. The understanding between whom?" "Answer. The understanding between the President and the Post-master General." "Question by Mr. Hindman. How did you know that?" "Answer. From conversations I held with them. I insisted upon having more of the profits of the printing to support *The Union*, as it was one of those rather unprofitable pecuniary organs, and Mr. Rice was very clamorous to have a share for *The Pennsylvanian*, and we finally settled on forty-three cents in the dollar. I had made a contract with Mr. Crowell, who did the work for me for forty-five or fifty cents in the dollar. He did it a portion of the time for forty-five cents, and a portion of the time for fifty cents. I had also the Executive Printing, but the profits on that were not so great, and the expenses of *The Union* being very large, I insisted that I should have all the profits of the Post Office Blank Printing. I could not keep it, however." In another part of his examination, this witness says: "When I transferred the organ to Bowman, it was called "*The Union*," and he named it "*The Constitution*." It was stipulated that I should pay from the proceeds of the printing of the Post Office Blanks, \$20,000 per annum, until the ensuing session of Congress, when it was supposed he would be elected Senate Printer. My stipulation was, to continue with Bowman so long as the Executive work, or work claimed under the head of Executive work, and coming from the Executive Departments, which was then given me, should be left in my hands." Again he says: "The profits of that printing (Post Office Blanks) were left at

the disposal of the President, and *under his direction* Rice's percentage was reduced, and Mr. Seaverns of *The Philadelphia Argus*, had, for a session, a portion." "Question. What portion?" "Answer. I think I paid him between five and six thousand dollars." Think of that! The work done by Crowell for forty-five cents in the dollar, on which, of course, he made a profit, and fifty five cents in the dollar of public money, gotten for no service whatever, and squandered in political corruption.

This man Wendell speaks of another sop he got from the President for services presently explained—The Executive Binding. This patronage was in the hands of the Executive Departments, all the work was concentrated in the hands of serviceable subalterns—men who had no practical knowledge of the business they pretended to perform, and thus kept out practical men from employment, that properly belonged to them. The act of Congress, (June 12th, 1858,) provided as a remedy for this corrupt monopoly," that all the ruling and binding for the several Executive Departments should be executed by *practical* and competent book-binders, to be appointed by the Head of Department. Wendell was neither *practical*, competent, nor honest. In fact, practically, he knew nothing of the business. But he did not the less suit the President. This business was kept in his hands after the passage of the law, in defiance of its terms, although practical workmen offered to perform it at thirty-three per cent. less than Wendell was receiving for it, and one of them (Pettybone, proved to be capable and trustworthy,) offered to pay into the Treasury of the United States, for its use, \$10,000, provided the Department of the Interior would give the applicant the binding of that one Department alone, from September 1st, 1859, to the 14th of March, 1861. This offer was refused, with the express concurrence of the President, as appears by a document signed by himself. The witness applied for this work to Secretaries Thompson, Cobb, Yancey, Floyd and Post-master Brown, in turn, all without effect. To Thompson he said, "I am a *practical* book-binder, have an establishment, and have been in the city twenty years," and "the law requires that *practical* men should have the work, and that Mr. Wendell was not a book-binder." Thompson replied, "that

they had made a decision, and all the work had gone to Wendell.” “That Mr. Wendell had made the application *as* a book-binder, and upon that application they had given him the work.” He then said “suppose a man was carrying on a tannery for twenty years, would he not be a tanner?” “I replied, no; he would not necessarily, but tannery and book-binding are different; you might carry on a tannery for twenty years, and then not be able to tan a skin of leather yourself. I then drew a parallel in this way: suppose you appointed a man a clerk, and gave him a desk, and you then found that he could not write, but employed a proxy to write for him—would you continue him in place?” He said, “No, *but the thing was decided, and that was the end of it.*” Then witness went to Post-master General Brown, who met him with the same favorite illustration of the *tanner*, which must have been concerted between them. Then to the President, before whom he set all the facts of the case, and repeated his offer, who told him “The Cabinet had had this matter under consideration, and he did not wish to interfere.” Witness asked if he could have the opinion of the Attorney General upon the Law? The President—“Address me a communication in writing, giving your views, and I *will refer it to the Attorney General for his opinion*—is that what you want?” “Yes, sir.” “You shall have it.” The promise to refer the communication to the Attorney General was redeemed by the President in a characteristic manner. He endorsed on it, “referred to the Attorney General, though the President does *not intend to interfere* with the decision or action of the different heads of department in the selection of a book-binder, the law having expressly conferred this power on them. J. B.” Afterwards he tells the witness, who again applied to him:—“Sir, if I have my way, I shall send this work to Philadelphia;” [to Dan Rice, perhaps,] “Philadelphia is my city. There is a gentleman there who is well posted, and strongly recommended to me, I would give it to him.” This was repeated several times. After that, the President promises to speak to Secretary Thompson about the matter, and he did. But says Thompson, “He did not request me to give you any work.” Finally, the witness tells the President that a line from him would induce Thompson to give him some of the work. The President said:

“Yes, sir, a line from me would not only give you a portion of the work, but the whole of the work, if I choose to give you that line, but *I do not choose to give it.*”

Of course a *Quid pro quo* was to be given by Wendell, and that was to apply these corrupt gains, in engineering the President's measures through Congress, and carrying the Elections for him.

CARRYING THE ELECTIONS WITH THE PUBLIC MONEY.

In the Autumn of 1858, a great effort was made to carry the election in Pennsylvania and New York, for the administration, and to support its Lecompton policy. Before proceeding with the more recent developments of Executive corruption connected with these elections, let us recall to recollection some facts already published by this Committee, for the information of the people.

From the minority report of the Special Committee on Naval Contracts, made to the House, on the 24th. February, 1859, we gather the following facts:

“Congress, in June last, authorized Secretary Toucey of the Navy to advertise for proposals for furnishing the machinery of the seven new steam sloops of war, with a view of obtaining the lowest offers and the most responsible bidders. From the report we are enabled to make up the following table:

BIDS OFFERED.		BIDS ACCEPTED.	
Novelty Works.....	\$ 98,500	Woodruff & Beach...	\$125,000
Novelty Works.....	97,000	Murphy & Co.....	130,000
Novelty Works.....	98,000	Merrick & Sons.....	102,000
Allaire Works.....	97,000	Boston Loco. Works.	104,000
Murray & Hazlehurst,	100,000	Morgan Works.....	120,000
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\$490,500		\$581,000	

“In these five of the seven contracts, there was a difference of \$90,500 between the rejected offers of well-known establishments and those which were accepted; and, if the other two were awarded after the same fashion, the entire loss to the country was \$126,700, or over eighteen thousand dollars on each vessel! The rejected bids were from the most eminent machine works in the Union.”

By the foregoing it will be seen that the Novelty Works of New York, and the Reading Forge Company—among the best

and most responsible in the country, proposed to execute the work for \$98,000, whilst the offer of Merrick & Sons was for \$102,000, and by the terms of the law the Secretary of the Navy had no alternative, but to give the contract to the lowest responsible bidder, which no doubt would have been done, but for the following most remarkable correspondence, which, as a justification or excuse at least, for the gross misconduct of the Secretary, was laid before the committee of investigation:

Col. W. C. Patterson, of Philadelphia, to the President.

“PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13, 1858.

“*Dear Sir*,—I venture to suggest to you the importance of awarding the contracts for the machinery of the sloop, now building at the Navy Yard at this time, and if it can be done without prejudice to the public service, to Merrick & Sons. Theirs is the only establishment in the First District which employs a large number of mechanics; at this time, 390; when in full work, 450.

“The managing partners (Mr. M. Sr., being absent, in bad health,) are full of energy, straining every nerve to keep their force during this depression, and, in so far as I know, the only old Whigs of any influence in that District who are in favor of the reelection of Colonel Florence.

“I know, from former experience, the value of that influence, and feel persuaded that it is the interest of the Democratic party, to increase it.

“The First District will, I hope, be carried in any event, but with that shop at work, full handed, two weeks prior to the election, the result would, I think, be placed beyond all doubt.

With much respect,

The President.

W. C. PATTERSON.”

This letter was sent to the Secretary of the Navy by the President with this endorsement:

“SEPTEMBER 15, 1858.

“The enclosed letter from Colonel Patterson, of Philadelphia, is submitted to the attention of the Secretary of the Navy.

J. B.”

And the Secretary, obedient to the will of his superior, yielded his ready assent, and complied with the intimation thus thrown out.

Let us turn now to the more recent developments made by the Committee of Investigation, of the House of Representatives, under the resolutions of that House of the 5th of March, 1860, to inquire whether the President or any other officer of the Government, has by money, patronage, or other improper means sought to influence the action of Congress, for or against the passage of any law appertaining to the rights of any State or Territory—abuses in the Post Offices and Navy Yards—and as the President speaks in his letter of the 25th of November, 1858, to the Pittsburg Centenary celebration (already quoted) of “the employment of money to carry elections,” to inquire also, how much money was used in Pennsylvania or other States, by whose authority, and from what source the money was derived. The report was laid on the table June 16th, 1860, and ordered to be printed. To avoid all cavil, the statements will be made, not from the report of the majority or the minority, but from the testimony of witnesses.

His favorite Wendell deposes:—“Question. When you had interviews with the President previous to the election in Pennsylvania in 1858, did you not freely talk with him in regard to the use of money to carry certain districts?” “Answer. I talked with him freely as to the use of money in elections; I do not remember as to any specific districts; I talked about the expenses of elections, generally, the large amounts used. Yes, sir.” The witness then states that these conversations happened “pretty much every day, I should presume. I do not remember any particular day of the week.” “Question. Was it not your habit, previous to the election, to spend the Sabbath day with him, conversing freely upon political matters, and particularly with regard to the use of money to carry on elections?” “Answer. I cannot say it was a usual habit, I saw him on Sundays, I could not say how many.” “Question. I am referring to immediately preceding the elections.” “Answer. Yes, sir; I may have seen him on one or two Sabbaths immediately preceding the fall election of 1858.” “Question. On those occasions had you conversations with him on that subject?” “Answer. Conversations on politics?” “Question. In connection with money matters?” “Answer. The expenses of the elections would usually come up during the con-

versations.” “Question. Did Mr. Buchanan object to carrying elections or helping to carry them in that way?” “Answer. Never to me.”

Again:—“Question. Did you not tell him” (the President) “that you were compelled to use large amounts of money?” “Answer. I cannot say I told him I was *compelled*.” “Question. That you were using large amounts of money?” “Answer. He was cognizant of the fact, that I contributed largely to elections.” “Question. You had conversations with him, upon that subject?” “Answer. It was the subject of conversation at different times, the amount that I contributed.” “Question. What was the character of the several letters from Pennsylvania that he read you portions of, during one of the interviews you had with him, about carrying certain districts? How was it to be done?” “Answer. I think the most of them wanted *material aid*; they made suggestions as to aid required in different districts generally, and the political affairs of their several districts.” Again:—“Question. Do you recollect whether in answer or reply, you did send off money?” “Answer. If my memory serves me, I returned to Philadelphia that evening, or the next evening with *munitions*. I think I returned that evening. I had returned home the evening before, and had looked after my business during the day, and went back the same evening. I was backwards and forwards, pretty actively engaged in *preaching the good doctrine*.” “Question. By ‘*munitions*,’ you mean money, do you?” “Answer. Yes, sir.” “Question. And you left the evening of the conversation with the President?” “Answer. Yes, sir.” “By Mr. Winslow. You do not wish it to be supposed that the President furnished any of the money?” “Answer. *No, sir, not a red. He did not bleed as I thought he ought to do.*” The witness then states that no promise of patronage was made him, “if he would bleed freely; for ‘he’ (the President) had nothing to give in our line. I was then doing all the work; I think I was doing every thing the Executive had the control of at the time. I was making money pretty rapidly, and spending it about as fast.”

Again, as to the amount of these expenses and how applied: “Question. Have you any knowledge of what amount you

have contributed annually, or for the time you have been engaged in doing government work?" "Answer. During the past four years I have, perhaps, contributed over one hundred thousand dollars to what might be considered party purposes?" "Question. In what States was that money generally made use of?" "Answer. Well, the larger part of it in Pennsylvania, I think." "Question. That is, more than half the amount?" "Answer. I could not say that." "Question. To what other States than Pennsylvania have you contributed to aid the party?" "Answer. I have contributed for party purposes in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Ohio, and Maine, I think. There may be others, but they do not occur to my mind now." "Question. Have all your contributions been in northern States?" "Answer. Yes, sir. I do not remember spending a dollar politically in Southern States. I have tendered contributions there, but they allowed that they did not use money as we did in the free States." "Question. You allege, then, that Pennsylvania has got half or more than half of the whole amount?" "Answer. I could not say that; I think not quite half?" "Question. But much more than any other State?" "Answer. O, much more, by far. We thought Pennsylvania more important in 1856 than any other State, and we were desirous in 1858 of securing the State." "Question. Can you tell what amount you spent in the first district, Col. Florence's district, during the time you were doing Government work?" "Answer. I could not tell exactly, my judgment is, that it was rising \$3,000."

[The reader will, if he pleases, here turn back to Patterson's letter to the President, quoted above, showing the anxiety of the President to elect Florence, and the means he adopted to do it.]

After stating that he paid large amounts of money to Severns of the *Argus*, part to sustain the paper, part to be expended in the District, the witness is asked:—"Who was it that made the arrangement by which he was to get that money?" "Answer. Well, sir, my knowledge has been that it was through the President; I was doing all the printing here, and Mr. Rice, of the *Pennsylvanian*, claimed a portion of it, and then Mr. Severns did, and through friends, Mr. Bigler, Colonel Florence, and other friends, it was arranged that they should have such a

per centage of the work; that I should pay them so much. The reason given was that the patronage of the city was lost, owing to the triumph of the opposition, and the papers must be sustained in some way, and, therefore, they must have a portion of this work. I paid during the year, I think, to Mr. Rice, between \$11,000 and \$12,000; and to Mr. Severns, including what I suppose was used for electioneering purposes, about \$7,000." "Question. Two thousand dollars of which, you say, was for electioneering purposes?" "Answer. I have it on my memory that it was about that; I speak now of 1858; I have said that that district has cost me \$3,000, directly or indirectly, these past four years." "Question. By whom was the arrangement made to take care of these papers?" "Answer. It was done by authority of the President." "Question. Had you any conversation with the President himself upon the subject?" "Answer. I had, several times; I was opposed to being thus levied on; *I thought I was liberal enough to spend all the money I could make out of the work, and I did not care to pay for papers*; I never approved of it; it was through the instigation of partizan friends from Pennsylvania that the arrangement was finally made, by which I was to pay such a per centage to Mr. Rice, which per centage was afterwards reduced in order that Mr. Severns might have some; but the amount never was definitely settled; there was a continual struggle to get more, and I was continually resisting it; the contest waged a year I think." "Question. You mentioned that you might have paid Mr. Florence some money for his district in settling these matters; that was for Mr. Severns, was it?" "Answer. Yes, sir; Mr. Florence was a great friend and advocate of Mr. Severns, as were Mr. Bigler and Mr. Baker for Mr. Rice; each was desirous, I presume, to keep up his own special organ." By Mr. Olin:—"Question. Who was this Baker that you speak of?" "Answer. *Collector of the port of Philadelphia*; he was very importunate for more; like Oliver Twist, he was always crying for more."

Witness goes on to state *in extenso* the other districts in Pennsylvania, to which he applied money in 1858—Landy's, Philip's, Dimmick's, Scranton's, Reilly's, as to the latter of which he says, "He thinks he gave one Bull, a clerk in one of the De-

partments at Washington some money; "I remember his calling upon me with *a leave of absence to go up there electioneering*, as he said, and I gave him some money, and I think authorized him to draw on me, or tell some one in the District to draw on me." The manner in which this money was lavished, will appear by the witness's answer to the question, if he had the drafts or accounts on which it was paid?" "Answer. I doubt whether I have them; I would state, to show the impossibility of distinguishing, that I would draw a check for a given amount of money and take it with me when I went to Philadelphia, or I would draw my check in Philadelphia and swap checks with some friend in Philadelphia who would give me the money for my draft on my banker here; and I would divide the money up and give it out to different parties; I would, perhaps, make a bet of \$500, and give from \$500 to \$1,000 in different districts. But this was all mixed up so that I really could not tell exactly how it was all done, as I did not keep a minute of the details, although my books will show the entire amount I spent for party purposes. For instance, there would be an entry of a check for '\$5,000 political,' but I could not remember who got all that money, although I might remember \$1,000 or \$2,000 of it."

As regards Foster's district, (in Pennsylvania,) he is asked, "Did you have any conversation with him (the President) upon the subject of what, if any, money should be used in that district?" and answers, "If my memory serves me I did. I had a conversation with him, and if my memory serves me, I told him that it would be useless to do any thing in that district; that we were beaten before we commenced there."

When corruption like this existed at the head of the Government, the profligate practices of the subordinate departments may be readily conceived. Space is not allowed for details, but the evidence before the committee demonstrates that the whole Administration in all its ramifications has been turned into an immense electioneering machine; first, to elect Mr. Buchanan, and to sustain him afterwards. Large sums of money have been levied on the employees of Government, on pain of dismissal, to be spent in electioneering. "The lists of the clerks in the Public Offices were made out, their names in one column, their salaries in another, and the per centages levied, in another

column." Numbers of men were taken into the public employment, at the Custom Houses, just before the elections, given leave of absence, and sent to influence these elections, and after the elections, they signed the pay-rolls as if they had been actually employed, and were then discharged, (this was particularly the case in New York, where the Government made earnest efforts to defeat Mr. Haskin, for Congress, who had deserted the President on his Lecompton policy.) Persons were assigned desks in the Public Offices as Clerks, and drew pay regularly for services never rendered, and which were performed by others, while they were absent and engaged in influencing the elections. A strong case in point is that of Mr. Brown, who was appointed to the duty of the "cancellation of transportation and exportation bonds" in the New York Custom House. Bruce, clerk of the Warehouse Bureau, says a desk was assigned to Brown. "If my memory serves me right, he said he would be there a day or two, but I never saw him again in our office; he did not occupy any desk, nor perform any duty in the division over which I supposed I had charge, while I was there." "A clerk in the office was assigned to take that desk, and I believe he still occupies it." During this time, Brown was to be found employed in the Election Committee room, or on the stump, making speeches against Haskin, until he went to Washington to edit the "*Constitution*," the Government organ, receiving pay from the Government all the time.

MONEY EMPLOYED TO CARRY THE PRESIDENT'S MEASURES THROUGH CONGRESS.—
THE LECOMPTON AND ENGLISH BILLS, &c.

Here again, we must resort to the refreshing developments before the committee, made by the President's familiar spirit, Mr. Wendell. He disclaims having paid money personally to members of Congress, or that money was furnished by the Government to carry this Bill; but he is asked, "Where did this money come from; was it your own money, or was it furnished by some body else?" "Answer. *It could be considered my own money.* Sometimes I had the money lying in bank to my own credit, sometimes I borrowed it of a friend." "Question. Have you any knowledge how much money you disbursed on that occasion to carry that measure?" "Answer. I would respectfully submit whether that is a proper question. If I had disbursed

money to any members of Congress, I presume the question would be a proper one. But if I saw fit to employ gentlemen outside to aid in carrying it, I would respectfully suggest whether it is proper for the committee to inquire into my money affairs." "Question. I will put the question in another way. Was it not your habit to operate upon members of Congress through third parties?" "Answer. I have done so, or tried to do so." "Question. Did you not try to do so on that occasion?" "Answer. I did." "Question. Did you not, in paying money to outsiders, pay it for a specific purpose, or for the votes or support of particular persons?" "Answer. I may have paid outsiders to aid in procuring votes for particular measures." "Question. For that particular measure—the Lecompton bill I am speaking of?" "Answer. Yes, sir; I paid some money to outsiders to aid in carrying the Lecompton bill." "Question. Do you recollect whether, in drawing checks for that purpose, you put in the names of the parties themselves, or did you put in fictitious names?" "Answer. I have probably done it both ways; drawn them directly to the parties sometimes; sometimes 'for political purposes;' 'pay to politics \$1,000;' 'pay to Kansas;' 'pay to bearer;' I have done it in different ways. Sometimes a man would want a check drawn one way and sometimes another." "Question (to witness.) Did you not, on the 8th of April, 1858, give Mr. Bean a check for \$5,000?" "Answer. I remember giving him a check for \$5,000, or \$5,000 in money, but the date I have forgotten." "Question. Was that money for himself or another? What purpose had you in view in giving him that \$5,000?" "Answer. I was informed that by enlisting Bean he could be of great service in the passage of the bill. Who informed me I have forgotten; but it must have been some one in whose opinion I had entire confidence, or I should not have broached the subject to him. I did broach it, and, if my memory serves me, he did agree to use all his influence for a consideration, which consideration I paid him." "Question. Did you not propose to give him \$20,000 to accomplish certain objects?" "Answer. I do not think I did. I do not remember of doing so. I remember giving him \$5,000, but the conversation I held with him I cannot call to mind. I was engaged day and night

in that business at that time, and took a very active part in it.”

“Question. Was not the money that you gave to Mr. Bean, or proposed to give him, for a specific purpose—that is, to get the votes of certain individuals for Lecompton?” “Answer. I think I understood that Bean had some influence with the Ohio members, some of whom were supposed to be a little doubtful on the subject. If I recollect aright, he was the owner of a paper, or had control of some papers in Ohio, in districts of which the representatives were considered doubtful, and it was thought that he might influence them, from his position as editor of a paper, and, therefore, it was deemed essential to secure his services; but who gave me that hint I do not remember. I may have talked largely about money with him, my acquaintance with him was very slight, however.”

By Mr. Robinson:—

“Question. Did he represent to you that he had influence with any member?” “Answer. I cannot remember that he did. The details of the conversation have escaped my memory entirely. The main purpose was that he should use all his influence with the Ohio members, and that I should pay him for his services.”

By the Chairman:—

“Question. Did Mr. Bean not tell you distinctly that that money was to go to certain members?” “Answer. I do not remember that he did.”

“Question. In giving him that \$5,000 did you expect that he was to keep it, or to pay it, or a portion of it, over to other parties?”

“Answer. Well, I might have had an idea *that he was to divide it around*; but I would simply suggest, with all deference, that my thoughts and ideas would not be evidence.”

“Question. Did you not on that occasion specify a certain individual whose vote was to be had for that \$5,000?” “Answer. I might have done so, but it does not occur to my mind now.”

“Question. did you not specify certain votes that were to be paid for by the \$20,000?” “Answer. I cannot remember that I did.”

“Question. Were there any other parties from Ohio, besides Mr. Bean—go between—to secure the votes of certain Ohio members?” “Answer. Well, I cannot say that there was; I was in conversation daily and hourly, as I have before observed, with members and with outsiders on the subject. There were several members from Ohio whose votes were considered doubtful, *and it was desirable to have them think as the party did, if*

possible." Witness says his bank account during these operations amounted to \$929,000, in about two years! His expenses about the Lecompton Bill, were over \$30,000! through three agents, Bean, Hay and Walker. His accounts and his checks were before the committee. His checks, accounts, &c., seem to have been designedly kept in an unintelligible condition. Part of his examination is as follows: "Question. Here, again, on the 15th of June, are two other checks payable to numbers—No. 397, \$1,000; No. 398, \$600. What were they for?" "Answer. Really I cannot call to mind. They might have been the numbers of the checks, and the checks made payable to the numbers. Sometimes when I did not want it to go on the book who got the money, I had the checks drawn in that way." "Question. Was it the design in drawing the checks in this way, or omitting to make them payable to some person or their order, that it should not be known to whom the money was paid?" "Answer. It might have been, in some cases. Probably I used money that I did not want anybody to know about; most likely wanted to forget it myself." "Question. What was your reason for that?" "Answer. Well; I do not know of any. I would say to my book-keeper—draw a check to John Jones, or to Peter Smith, or to somebody's order, just as the case might be. I might be using money that I would be willing to forget myself five minutes afterwards."

The inquiry arises, how was all this money raised? Witness says, he borrowed from the banks, and different individuals, until "he ran the town dry," and then he would go North and borrow. Of the Hon. H. M. Philips, of Philadelphia, he says he borrowed largely, and "*He has the honor to owe him \$10,000 now.*" Can it be believed that all this was a gratuitous expenditure of his private means? He says he had frequent interviews with the President, pending the Lecompton English Bill; that he was receiving a large amount of money from the Government work—he was "enjoying at the time all the patronage of Government in his business, he thinks, or nearly all—there was no pledge or promise, that any more should be given him, *for he had it all then.*" "Question. Were you not induced to believe in interviews with the President, during the Lecompton measure, that you would be remunerated, taken care

of in some way, for your services?" "Answer. No, sir, not from any assertion of his." "Question. From the tenor of the conversations?" "Answer. I had the idea that if I stood by the party, and aided it all I could, he would stand by me."

Bean (a clerk in the House of Representatives when this measure was passed) was examined. He admits the receipt of the \$5,000, for services to be rendered in passing the bill, but denies that he bestowed any part of it on members of Congress. He says Wendell proposed to employ \$20,000, through him, in the same way, saying "a bushel of gold is no object in this matter." "He said that, when he was urging this proposition upon me, I understood him by that to mean, that if I even wanted more, I could have it."

Great efforts were made by a friend of the Administration on the committee to disconnect the President with these transactions, but the true character of his connection with them is explained by one of Wendell's answers, as to his expectation of being rewarded, which he was asked to explain distinctly:—"Answer. I do not know as I can do so more than I have. There was a deep solicitude evinced to have the bill passed. In the conversations that I held, the subject was thoroughly discussed; and every measure that it was supposed could have any effect upon it, upon the procuring of votes, was considered. Although there was no direct positive understanding about it, no one said, "Wendell, you spend a thousand or ten thousand dollars and we will reimburse you"—nothing of that kind, yet the impression conveyed to my mind was that the measure was one in which the administration was very much interested, and if I assisted in its passage I would be considered."

Frauds of the most disgusting character, in almost every branch of the public service are disclosed by the investigations of the committee. Take the following as an example in regard to the United States Custom House at Philadelphia, and the office of District Attorney of the United States in the same place, a case cited because of the President's immediate connection with it. Joseph B. Baker, was collector of customs in that city. George G. Baker, is his brother, and *married the President's niece*. James C. Vandyke was for much of the same time District Attorney for the United States in the same district. It is

stated by Secretary Cobb, in answer to a letter of inquiry by the committee, (March 24th, 1860,) that this George W. Baker, "was appointed a clerk, at a salary of \$1,200 per annum, on the 15th of November, 1858, vice John Goodyear, promoted; and that he has continued to, and does now, occupy that position, at the same rate of salary." And Baker himself, being before the committee, deposed that he regularly drew his salary, and *made affidavit, that the services of his office were rendered.* Yet he did *nothing* in his office, and *he himself was all the time engaged in editing the Pennsylvanian, the President's home organ, in Pennsylvania, which we have seen, was also supported by the profits of printing the Post Office Blanks, a patronage procured for it through Wendell, by the President.* That he performed no duty in his office, the witness admitted; that he was engaged; while holding it, in editing the *Pennsylvanian*, was proved by Vandyke, and, indeed, was not controverted. But Baker excuses himself, because he was detailed for other duties, such services as confidential clerk to his brother, the collector, though he says "he was not, I believe, entitled to the services of a clerk," and he, (the collector,) "wrote to the Department, asking permission to appoint me to the vacant office, *with power to detail me for the purpose he desired.*" His duties, he says, "consisted principally as a sort of law adviser." "He went out of the city to hunt up testimony in New York, in regard to cases, and attended to cases in Court," and assisted his brother in his correspondence. But Vandyke, the attorney, being asked what services Baker had rendered, as to litigation, answers, "as a professional man, none." "Mr. Baker; never to my knowledge, rendered any service in any matter in court," and he says that in a single case, Baker collected some testimony out of doors for him, for whose service \$50 would have been a fair compensation. Theophilus Fiske, *editor of the Argus*, for some time held the place of second clerk, under the naval store keeper, *but rendered no services.* Charles Cummings also succeeded him in the same office, *rendered no service*, and Charles Clement, who succeeded him was equally useful. In the mean time the collector makes it understood to all his employees, as regards Forney's opposition to the President, "and the propriety of Mr. Buchanan's Lecompton doctrines," that

the President is "going to make a test of it." "Yes," says the collector to one of them, "we all entertained these views, that Forney was correct, but the President has settled upon another view of the case, *and as Government officers we are all bound to support the President.*" In the mean time Vandyke had quarrelled with the collector for this tyrannous abuse of his official power; and he reminds the President in a letter of March 16, 1860, (shortly preceding his own removal from office,) that, "My relations with the collector, as I have frequently informed you, in conversation and by letter, are the result of my unwillingness to approve the conduct of the collector in his tyrannical abuse of the patronage of the federal government, with a view to control the wishes of the people in their primary local elections. This, in conformity with your own just views, as expressed in times past, when in 1839-'40, 1843-'44, and 1847-'48, it was supposed the same power was used to prevent your political advancement, I have always disapproved and discountenanced to the extent of my ability. The banding together by a collector of customs of the entire force of subordinate federal officers, the necessities of many of whom may compel them to yield their own convictions to his threats of removal, and the controlling of the political preferences of other persons under promises of appointment, are infringements of the rights of the people, a violation of the democratic spirit of our institutions, and at all times dangerous to the purity and perpetuity of an elective government. And in justification of my course, I have to say, in a spirit of the utmost kindness and good feeling to yourself personally, that no desire for office nor fear of removal could induce me so far to forget my self-respect or forego my rights as a citizen as to yield even a silent acquiescence in the conduct of the gentleman who in this respect has so grossly abused the federal patronage in this State."

He had previously deposed to the committee thus:—"Question. Do you know of any effort made on the part of federal officers to control State politics? If so, state in detail all the particulars?" "Answer. In my opinion there has been in the city of Philadelphia a general combination among all the federal officers, with very few exceptions, to control the internal party politics of the city." "Question. Anything to do with the

politics of the State outside of the city?" "Answer. I think that that influence has been attempted by the federal officers to be extended beyond Philadelphia. * * * * I have myself on all such occasions refused to follow the lead of other federal office holders in Philadelphia, principally controlled by the collector of the port, and have acted more with those outside of the federal offices than with those in. This had created a bad feeling between the President and myself. I refused to submit to that dictation, and shall continue to refuse.

"Question. Do you know, of your own knowledge, whether the interference of the collector, or any other federal officer in Philadelphia, with their employees for political purposes, was with the knowledge of the President—interference for the purposes of controlling their conduct in reference to elections?"

"Answer. I have complained to the President about it, and my opinion is, that other persons acting with me have done the same."

"Question. Did you resist those efforts of Collector Baker and other federal officers; and if so, were you threatened with removal from office unless you yielded to this combination?"

"Answer. I have always resisted these efforts, from 1839 up to the present time, whenever they have been attempted in the party. The President never threatened me with removal; but I have been informed by the mutual friends of the collector, and other federal officers and myself, that they had been making efforts for the last two years to have me removed, and that the President would do so unless I modified my hostility to the collector. I have disregarded such threats."

"Question. Had your resistance, in your judgment, anything to do with your removal?"

"Answer. In my judgment it is the cause of my removal."

The President hugged to his bosom his serviceable collector, and let his conscientious attorney go adrift. Very shortly after this evidence was given, the formal dismissal of the attorney followed. The President tries, in his letters to Vandyke, to put his dismissal upon the inimical relations between him and the collector, which he professed to regard as prejudicial to the public service. But the attorney (March 16th, 1860,) reminds him "that such a change (meaning his own removal) is not controlled by these considerations is fairly inferable from the fact,

that the personal and political relations that at present exist between the collector of the port and myself are precisely the same as they were at the time of my appointment, when at your personal 'solicitation I accepted the office,' and are the same as they had been with the full knowledge of the Administration for nearly one year previous to that appointment." He adds an additional cause of his opposition to the collector, was "his paying to persons professedly employed in the revenue service, large salaries out of the public treasury, when it is said such persons notoriously do not discharge the duties of their appointments, but either devote their time to other business callings, or one engaged in the discharge of other public duties, properly compensated at a lower rate of salary."

"I have also to state that about October, 1859, I frankly informed you that if my course in all matters of party issues, though hostile to the dictation of the collector of the port, was not approved by you, I could no longer continue in office. You at that time informed me that there was nothing which had occurred to lessen your confidence, or to cause you to desire a change, but, on the contrary, that your wish was, I would continue in my position, at the same time expressing a desire that I should be on friendly personal and political relations with the collector which I said was impossible. It is also for this reason that the cause now given for my removal is to me the more unaccountable, for since then nothing has occurred to change my official relations with the officers at Philadelphia, except it be that arising from my official notice of the report of the improper payment of salaries by the collector to which I have alluded, and in regard to which I have expressed my opinion that upon information properly laid no District Attorney could refuse to entertain a prosecution."

After the dismissal of Vandyke, the President writes him a sort of deprecatory and apologetic letter, reiterating the same reason for turning him out, that he was at feud with the collector, to which Vandyke, after repeating that these relations with the collector had at no time been permitted by himself to stand in the way of that official intercourse, which the public interests required, he concludes the correspondence as follows, and

we recommend what he says as "profitable for doctrine" to all Presidents and office-holders, as well as people:

"Your conversations with me, as well as your letters to me on this subject, have invariably referred to the subject in its political aspects, and as affecting the management of internal party politics, in which I have always considered every citizen fully competent to judge of his own course without the assistance of a collector of customs. This was especially the case in our last conversation to which you have referred, and in which you will no doubt, upon reflection, remember official duties and relations were not mentioned. Your only request of me at that time was that I would not interfere with the collector in his management of the then approaching campaign to elect delegates to our State convention, called for the purpose of nominating a Governor and *sending delegates to the Charleston national convention*. And the only occasion in which I ever had any intercourse with any other member of the administration touching this matter was in 1858, when the Attorney General in conversation informed me that in his opinion the good of the party required union and concert of action among all the federal officers. This conversation referred only to unity in the management of internal party politics, and had special reference to the judicial nominating convention. The tenor of his conversation was to secure a complete combination among the federal officers of a character that did not receive my approval, for I have always regarded such combinations as in conflict with the doctrine of State rights as interpreted by the Democratic party, and have believed that to unite in them would be derogatory to every feeling of self-respect.

I regret that the duty I owe to myself and to those friends with whom I have acted requires me to say this much, and I do it with no other desire than to place myself correctly before you and them.

With the assurance that I reciprocate your impressions of personal good feeling, I am, sir, your friend, very respectfully,

JAMES C. VANDYKE."

His excellency JAMES BUCHANAN, *President*.

What wonder that the President should shrink from these exposures and aim to shield himself, under some fancied consti-

tutional exemption from scrutiny, by the representatives of the people in Congress.

People of Virginia, the serious question now put to you, is, do you wish to continue this profligate and corrupting dynasty of office holders in power? Shall the President and those under him elect his successor, and thus keep the present official horde of corruptionists in office? That such is the object, and such the means now in progress, is clear in a thousand ways. Take for a sample the official circular with which we shall close this document, which we earnestly pray you to read, learn and inwardly digest. A subscription paper, headed by Hon. Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, for \$500, has been passed around among the Clerks in Washington, all of whom are expected to contribute voluntarily or go out of office, and the central committees in the States are bleeding the Post-masters and other officials, in this fashion:

COLUMBUS, OHIO, July 21, 1860.

My Dear Sir:—A movement, as you are aware, has been inaugurated here in favor of Breckinridge and Lane. The vital principles of our national Democratic party are at stake in the coming contest. You know that a political canvass cannot be successfully carried on without funds. Great numbers of documents must be circulated, and a great variety of expenses incurred which will readily suggest themselves to the reason of all.

The central committee, under the direction of the meeting which appointed it, have had the duty imposed upon it of *reminding you that all who are occupying official position are expected to contribute to the expenses of the campaign*. It is hoped, therefore, that you will respond *promptly* to this notice, and that you will not regard the sum of fifty dollars too much for you to *advance*.

Please direct your remittance to Thomas Sparrow, of this city, Treasurer.

JOHN DAWSON,

Chairman of State Executive Committee.

WILLIAM A. NEIL, *Secretary.*





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